Germany

The National Socialist State

by
Esther Caukin Brunauer

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
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FOREWORD

IN THE WORK for a new international spirit, the first step is an intelligent understanding of the situation. There is no government in the world today more of a puzzle than the National Socialist State of Germany. What led to its rise? What are its essential characteristics? What is the nature of the Nazi doctrine and what the secret of its power over a great people? These and a host of other questions perplex men and women who are interested in world problems, but who have not the opportunity to discover the answers for themselves.

For these seekers after knowledge, *Germany: The National Socialist State* is a godsend. A trained scholar with several years of practical experience in preparing bibliographies and programs and leading the American Association of University Women along the lines of international study; a frequent visitor in Europe, spending months in Germany gathering material, Dr. Brunauer could not have had a finer preparation for the writing of this monograph.

The monograph itself is a proof of the work which has gone into it. Clear and comprehensive, furnishing extensive bibliographies for further study, it provides invaluable assistance for all who would know and at least try to understand the Germany of today.

MARY E. WOOLLEY
Chairman of the Committee on International Relations
American Association of University Women

Germany

The National Socialist State

A STUDY COURSE

BY

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HOW TO USE THIS COURSE

THE OUTLINE is arranged in eight sections, each of which provides material for one meeting of the study group. There is at present no reasonably objective up-to-date history of the National Socialist revolution, so that the syllabus should be used as a text for the course, and the books and articles recommended should be made the basis of reports and discussions.

Assigned and supplementary readings are listed, and programs for the meetings are suggested, together with topics and references for reports. For greater convenience, the books and articles for supplementary reading are listed with the sections to which they apply. The full titles of the references for reports are to be found in the bibliography at the end. Most of the books and articles referred to are in English and have been published in the United States. The author will suggest German sources on request.

E. C. B.

I

THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, 1918-1933

THE HISTORY of the German Republic is the story of the collapse, in the face of a combination of internal and external pressures, of a political structure built upon compromise. The half-way measures of the Constitution arose from the indecisiveness of the revolution of November 1918, which also conditioned the functioning of the parliamentary system in Germany. Given a long period free from abnormal strains the system set up at Weimar might have developed stability by tradition. But the same world upheaval that produced the German Republic produced or brought to an acute stage many of the problems which ultimately crushed the German Republic.

A. INCOMPLETENESS OF THE REVOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 1918

1. Sacrifice of economic and social program by the Social Democratic Party in order to maintain coalition with the Democratic Party and the Center in a liberal parliamentary state

2. Reservation of emergency powers to the executive in the Constitution (Article 48), facilitating abrogation of civil rights in a crisis and breakdown of parliamentary system

B. UNCLEARNESS OF POLITICAL SITUATION THROUGHOUT THE LIFETIME OF THE REPUBLIC. Persistence of coalition governments, with no party able to obtain a majority in the Reichstag, nor to build a solid responsible opposition

1. 1918-1924, Center, Democrats, and Social Democrats

2. 1924-1928, Center, German People's Party (Stresemann), and German Nationalist Party (Hugenberg)

3. 1928-1930, Center, Democrats, and Social Democrats

4. 1930-1932, Center, German People's Party, and Democrats, sometimes with tolerance of German Nationalists and sometimes with tolerance of Social Democrats; safe majority for government not obtainable after September 1930, but most important measures decreed by Chancellor in name of President acting under Article 48

5. June 1932-January 1933, "Presidential" cabinets with very narrow base of parliamentary support

6. The opposition, after September 1930, composed chiefly of Nationalists, National Socialists, and Communists frequently acting together to defeat government measures but unable to combine to form a government

Note: There were a number of small parties, most of them on the fringes of the larger middle parties. At one time thirty-two parties submitted candidates in a Reichstag election, but by November 1932 this number was reduced to eight.

C. Economic Pressures

1. Damage done to German economic system by the strain of the war and by territorial provisions of the Treaty of Versailles
2. The burden of reparations
   a. constant strain on national finances
   b. stimulation of production and intensified competition in international markets in order to pay reparations bill
   c. dependence upon foreign loans
3. Movement for rationalization in industry, accompanied by a growing technological unemployment
4. Setting in of economic crisis on world-wide scale
5. Social tensions set up by economic pressures
   a. radicalization of the proletariat
   b. impoverishment of the middle-class

D. Development of Practical State of Civil War

1. Movements challenging the Republic
   a. monarchism
      (1) inevitable movement following overthrow of a monarchy
      (2) political representation, principally the German Nationalist Party
   b. socialism
      (1) basis
         (*a*) increasing discontent of working-classes arising from growing unemployment and consequent economic misery
         (*b*) disappointment with failure of Social Democratic Party to realize the socialist program
         (*c*) hostility to growing fascist movement
      (2) international influence—the model of the Soviet Union

(3) Political representation
(*a*) the Communist Party
(*b*) left wing of the Social Democratic Party

c. fascism
(1) basis
(*a*) unrest of middle class, depressed economically and fearing loss of social status
(*b*) hostility to Marxian socialism
(*c*) aroused nationalism based upon sense of perpetuated defeat
(2) international influence—the model of Italy under Mussolini
(3) political representation
(*a*) National Socialist German Labor Party
(*b*) sections of Nationalist Party, with some support from individuals in the People's Party and Center

2. Defenders of the Republic
a. majority of Social Democratic Party
b. Democratic (after 1930, State) Party
c. Center (except small right wing)
d. German People's Party

3. Methods used in the contest for power
a. struggle for control of Reichstag and Landtags by elections and by parliamentary maneuvers within those bodies
b. development of militant organizations operating through trained political soldiery and intensive propaganda
(1) Reichsbanner—republican veterans league
(2) Stahlhelm—monarchist veterans league, nominally independent but actually supporting Nationalists
(3) Storm Troops—adjunct of National Socialist Party
(4) Red Front Fighters League—adjunct of Communist Party, prohibited most of last three years but operating illegally in some localities
c. the "fight for the streets" inaugurated by Nazis to supplement contest in political field, carried on by methods of gangster warfare
d. fight for control in all fields of organized non-political activity, e.g., trade unions, religious bodies, professional associations, youth organizations
e. use of government power by defenders of the Republic

to suppress challenging groups (sporadic and unevenly applied)

(1) dismissals from government service for participation in activities of revolutionary parties

(2) hampering propaganda activities—meetings, parades, press, and pamphlets

(3) occasional prohibition or suspension of militant organizations

(4) searching of party headquarters by police

E. Trends of German Foreign Policy, 1918-32

1. "Policy of fulfillment" following Treaty of Versailles

2. Support of passive resistance of the Ruhr industries to the French occupation

3. *Rapprochement* with the Soviet Union, 1922-26

4. *Rapprochement* with France, 1925-26; the Locarno Pacts

5. Striving for recognition of equality, against perpetuation of concept of victor and vanquished

a. accomplishments in this direction

(1) withdrawal of armies of occupation in the Rhineland before dates set in the peace treaties

(2) gradual reduction of reparations bill to point close to cancellation in Lausanne Agreement of July 1932

(3) recognition, in principle, of Germany's claim to equal treatment in arms regulations, December 1932

b. lines of continued effort

(1) to achieve revision of the "war guilt" clause of the Treaty of Versailles

(2) to attain actual equality of status in regard to armaments

(3) to remove restrictions on *Anschluss* with Austria

(4) to revise territorial arrangements of the Treaty

(*a*) negotiations for holding Saar plebiscite before 1935

(*b*) agitation for boundary revisions in Upper Silesia and the Polish Corridor

(*c*) movement for return of German colonies, outright or in form of mandates

PROGRAM

Choose three of the following topics for report:

1. Compare the Weimar Constitution with the Constitution of 1871
   Brunet; Coar; Gooch; Graham; McBain; Ogg; Oppenheimer

2. Revisions made in the Treaty of Versailles since 1919
   Ichihashi; Temperley
   Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. V, No. 8 and Vol. VIII, Nos. 19 and 23
   Foreign Affairs, Réquin; *Annals* of the American Academy, Spencer (July, 1933)

3. Post-war German youth; its aims and its power
   Knickerbocker; Lengyel; Mowrer; Villard
   Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. IX, No. 10

4. The Social Democratic Party, 1918-33
   Blachly and Oatman; Kraus; Reinhold; Shuster; Villard
   American Mercury, Trotsky; *Current History,* Lore

5. Position of the Center Party in German political life
   Blachly and Oatman; Kraus; Reinhold; Shuster; Villard

6. International Economic Relations of the German Republic
   Angell; Koch-Weser; Schacht; Veit
   Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. V, No. 12 and Vol. VIII, No. 26; *International Conciliation,* Nos. 279 and 280

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II

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

National Socialism is a fascist movement, developed to preserve the capitalist system and to defend it against the challenge of socialism. To counteract the emotional appeal of the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle, fascism preaches the unity of all economic classes within the nation and seeks to turn the revolutionary force of economic and social discontent into the channels of nationalism. In German fascism an even stronger emotional appeal has been found in a racialism which takes the special form of anti-Semitism. This doctrine not only considers the Jews an inferior people but holds them responsible, on the one hand for economic exploitation, and on the other for the development of Marxian socialism. Romanticism and the denial of the validity of the intellect as opposed to the emotions are also characteristic of National Socialism. The objective factors which contributed to the growth of National Socialism into a formidable mass movement have been indicated (I). The political insight of its leaders and the messianic appeal of the person of Adolf Hitler must not be omitted from a discussion of the success of the National Socialist movement.

A. Organization of the National Socialist German Labor Party (N.S.D.A.P.) at Time of Assuming Power

1. "Principle of leadership"

   a. identification with ancient German tribal custom of electing the chief, who was then entrusted with absolute powers.

   b. hierarchy of officials, each appointed by the next higher, to whom he is responsible.

2. The party

   a. hierarchy of regional groupings, from the precinct to the nation

   b. headquarters, The Brown House, Munich

   c. membership, about two million

d. sources of financial power—membership dues, special contributions, sale of tickets for meetings, press and literature, bond issues among the membership for special purposes such as the purchase of The Brown House

3. Allied and subsidiary organizations
   a. the fighting troops
      (1) Sturmabteilung (SA)—the shock troops
      (2) Schutzstaffel (SS)—the special guard of the leaders
   b. economic groups
      (1) Economic Section of the N.S.D.A.P.
      (2) Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (N.S.B.O.)—the labor organization
         (*a*) based upon the individual industrial or business concern
         (*b*) organization of activity and administration parallel to the party
      (3) Kampfbund des gewerblichen Mittelstandes—organization of small business men and independent artisans
      (4) professional groups
         (*a*) Beamtenabteilung of the party—civil service employees, including the railways
         (b) Kampfgemeinschaft nationalsozialistischen Lehrer—subordinate group of the Beamtenabteilung
         (*c*) Nationalsozialistischer Ärztebund—included sections for nurses, pharmacists, technical assistants, etc., as well as graduate physicians
      (5) Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (until 1931, Deutscher Frauenorden)—a social organization outside the party but subject to it
      (6) youth organizations
         (*a*) Hitler Jugend
         (*b*) Bund deutscher Mädel
      (7) Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur
      (8) Deutsche Christen—organization seeking to carry National Socialist ideals into the church
      (9) Deutscher Studentenbund—National Socialist students in universities and technical colleges

B. Milestones in the Rise of the N.S.D.A.P. to Power (to January 30, 1933)

1. Hitler becomes the seventh member of the "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" in Munich, September 1919

2. The program of the "Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" proclaimed in a mass-meeting in Munich, February 25, 1920

3. The first local branches established, February 1921, in Rosenheim and Landshut

4. Hitler and Ludendorff attempt to seize power in Munich, November 8, 1923

   a. N.S.D.A.P. dissolved and property seized, November 9, 1923

   b. Hitler imprisoned until December 20, 1924

5. Hitler commences to rebuild the party, February 1925

6. N.S.D.A.P. conducts a campaign against the Dawes Plan, 1928

7. N.S.D.A.P. conducts a campaign against the Young Plan, 1930

8. N.S.D.A.P. wins six and a half million votes and 107 mandates in the Reichstag election of September 14, 1930—expectation that Hitler would seize power unrealized

9. Series of elections in 1932 leaves struggle undecided

   a. Hitler wins thirteen and one half million votes in the presidential election, April 10

   b. N.S.D.A.P. wins fourteen million votes and 230 mandates in Reichstag election, July 31—Papen Cabinet takes office

   c. N.S.D.A.P. drops to eleven million votes and 196 mandates in Reichstag election, November 6—Schleicher Cabinet takes office

10. Schleicher Government falls, January 29, 1933

11. Pact with "Deutschnational Front" concluded and Hitler takes office as Chancellor, January 30, 1933

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN LABOR PARTY

Proclaimed at a mass meeting in Munich, February 25, 1920; declared unalterable by the Party Congress of May 22, 1926

The program of the National Socialist Labor Party is a time program. We decline, after achievement of the purposes laid down in the program, to set up new goals only for the purpose of making possible the continuance of the Party through the artificially stimulated dissatisfaction of the masses.

1. We demand the inclusion of all Germans in a Great Germany on the ground of the right of self-determination.

2. We demand the recognition of the right to equality of the German nation with all other nations; the cancellation of the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

3. We demand land and soil (colonies) for the nutrition of our people and for the settlement of our surplus population.

4. Only those who are members of the nation can be citizens. Only those who are of German blood, without regard to religion, can be members of the German nation. No Jew can, therefore, be a member of the nation.

5. He who is not a citizen shall be able to live in Germany only as a guest and must live under a code for foreigners.

6. The right to decide on the leadership and on the laws of the state may belong only to citizens. Therefore we demand that every public office, of whatever sort, whether of the Reich, of the state, or of the municipality, shall be occupied only by citizens. We oppose the corrupt parliamentary system of filling offices only from the party viewpoint without respect to character or ability.

7. We demand that the state be obliged, in the first instance, to provide the possibility of work and life for the citizen. If it is not possible to feed the entire population of the state, the subjects of foreign states (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

8. All further immigration of non-Germans is to be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since the second of August, 1914, shall be compelled to leave the Reich immediately.

9. All citizens must possess the same rights and duties.

10. The first duty of every citizen is to work intellectually or physically. The activity of the individual must not transgress against the interests of the community but must serve within the limits of the whole to the advantage of all.

Therefore we demand:

11. The elimination of income which is obtained without labor or effort.

Breaking of the Interest Slavery

12. Out of regard to the frightful sacrifice in goods and blood which every war demands from the nation, personal enrichment through war must be designated as a crime against the nation. We demand, therefore, summary confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand the nationalization of all trusts.

14. We demand profit-sharing in large concerns.

15. We demand a grandiose extension of the old-age pension system.

16. We demand the creation of a sound middle class and its maintenance, immediate communalization of department stores and their rental at low cost to small merchants, the consideration of small merchants in purchases by the federal government, the states or the municipalities.

17. We demand land reform adapted to our national needs, the enactment of a law for the uncompensated expropriation of land for public purposes, the elimination of land interest and the prevention of land speculation.

18. We demand the most ruthless campaign against everyone who injures the public interest through his activity. Those who commit crimes against the people, usurers, profiteers and so forth, must be punished by death, without respect to religion or race.

19. We demand the substitution of the Germanic Common Law for the materialistic international Roman Law.

20. In order to make possible the attainment of higher education for every capable and industrious German and thereby the entrance into a leading position, the state has the responsibility to bear for a fundamental extension of our entire educational system. The teaching plans of all educational institutions must be adapted to the demands of a practical life. The development of national consciousness must be attained by the teaching of civil government in the schools from the moment that the child is able to understand. We demand the education at state expense of especially gifted children of poor parents without regard to profession or position.

21. The state must care for the improvement of the people's health through the protection of mother and child, through the forbidding of child labor, through the development of physical capability by means of legislative provision of a gymnastic and sports duty and through the greatest support of all associations engaged in physical education of youth.

22. We demand the elimination of the mercenary army and the formation of the people's army.

23. We demand legislative action against conscious political lies and their broadcasting through the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press, we demand that:

(a) All editors and contributors of newspapers which appear in German must be members of the nation,

(b) Non-German newspapers must have the special permission of the state in order to be published. They shall not be allowed to be published in the German language,

(c) Every financial participation in German newspapers or the influencing by non-Germans is to be forbidden and we demand as punishment for the violation the closing of such a newspaper plant, as well as the immediate expulsion from the Reich of the participating non-German. Newspapers which work against the public welfare are to be forbidden. We demand legislative action against an artistic and literary tendency which exerts a destructive influence over our national life and the closing of institutions which work against these demands.

24. We demand the freedom of all religions in the state in so far as they do not endanger its welfare or offend against the morals and sense of decency of the German race.

The Party as such represents the standpoint of a positive Christianity without binding itself to a particular belief. It fights the Jewish materialistic spirit within and without and is convinced that a permanent convalescence of our nation can only succeed from within on the foundation of

Public Interest Before Private Interest

25. For the carrying out of all these we demand: The creation of a strong central power in the Reich; absolute authority of the political central parliament over the entire Reich and all its organizations.

The formation of profession and trade chambers for the carrying out of the general laws of the Reich in the individual federal states.

The leaders of the Party promise, if necessary under the pledge of their own lives, to work ruthlessly for the carrying out of the points above set forth.

NOTE: The translation used here is taken from Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich.*

PROGRAM

1. Brief report on current news from Germany

2. Review of *My Battle (Mein Kampf)*, by Adolf Hitler, or a discussion of the question: What elements contributed most to the rise of the National Socialist Movement in Germany?

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III

THE CONQUEST OF POWER, JANUARY 30 TO MARCH 23, 1933

THE CONQUEST of the power of the German state by the National Socialist Party is unique in the history of revolutions, for it was accomplished without any pitched battles between the opposing forces and without the use of the regular army by either side. Moreover, it was entirely constitutional, in the sense that even the measures that violated the spirit and intention of the Weimar Constitution were carried out by means of provisions contained in that document. Because legal forms were observed, and because the violence that occurred was for the most part kept out of the sight of the general public, the mass of Germans hardly realized that the revoluion was in progress. This was especially true during the first half of the period under discussion.

The wholesale arrests following the Reichstag fire, the seizure of the governments of the federal states, and the beginning of attacks on Jews in business and the professions finally made the public aware of the change that was taking place. By that time the forces opposing the Nazis were disarmed and scattered and unable to offer effective resistance.

A. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF JANUARY 30, 1933

1. Fall of Schleicher Cabinet, January 28

   a. negotiations of Hugenberg and Papen with Hitler, beginning January 4

   b. breakdown of efforts of Schleicher to win toleration for his coalition

      (1) Center opposes long periods of rule without the Reichstag

      (2) German Nationalists declare opposition to "constantly more noticeable tendency toward Socialist Internationalism" and demand more authoritarian government, January 25

2. Appointment of National Socialist and Nationalist coalition cabinet, January 30

National Socialists

Chancellor of the Reich—Adolf Hitler

Minister of the Interior—Wilhelm Frick

Minister without Portfolio, National Commissar for Aviation, and Commissarial Minister of the Interior for Prussia—Hermann Wilhelm Göring

Commissarial Minister of Public Worship and Instruction for Prussia—Bernhard Rust

Press Chief for the National Government—Walther Funk

German Nationalists

Vice-Chancellor and National Commissar for Prussia—Franz von Papen

Minister of Commerce and Industry, Minister of Food and Agriculture—Alfred Hugenberg

Minister of Labor—Franz Seldte

Minister of Justice—Franz Gürtner

Non-partisan but conservative

Minister of National Defence—Werner von Blomberg

Retained from Schleicher Cabinet

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Constantine von Neurath

Minister of Finance—Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk

Minister of Communications and Post—Paul von Eltz-Rübenach

3. Failure of attempt of Center to extract concessions as the price of tolerating the Hitler Cabinet

B. Immediate Economic and Social Measures of the Hitler Cabinet (those cited are the most important, and illustrative of the general policies)

1. Tariffs

a. raising of duty on live-stock

b. termination of customs treaties with France, Sweden, and Jugoslavia, to regain tariff autonomy in regard to truck-garden products, cheese, fish, lumber, and fodder

2. Encouragement of agriculture by direct measures

a. marking German wheat and selling it at a lower price to German poultry growers

b. encouragement of German egg and poultry producers

3. Reduction of health insurance certificate fee pending reorganization of entire system of health insurance

4. Promise to examine finances of public business undertakings and undertakings subsidized by the government
5. Guarantee of almost 150 million marks in credit to help the skilled trades and small merchants (building loans, etc.)
6. Assurance that no experiments would be made with the currency
7. Offer of free rye and butter to state and city welfare centers for distribution to the destitute

C. Immediate Political Measures of the Hitler Cabinet

1. New elections announced
   a. Reichstag election proclaimed February 1, to be held March 5
   b. Prussian Landtag election proclaimed February 6, to be held March 5
      (1) N.S.D.A.P. motion to dissolve and call new elections voted down in Prussian Landtag, February 4
      (2) proposal to dissolve the Landtag and call new elections declined by two to one vote of "Dreimänner Kollegium," composed of Braun, Minister President, Adenauer, President of the Staatsrat, and Kerrl, President of the Landtag
      (3) removal of Braun and substitution of von Papen, National Commissar for Prussia, by presidential decree; adoption of proposal to dissolve the Landtag by reconstituted Dreimänner Kollegium
      (4) communal elections proclaimed for March 12 (about 30,000 local representative assemblies in Prussia affected)
2. Opposition suppressed
   a. interference with campaigns of Communist Party, Social Democratic Party, and Center Party
      (1) only Government parties permitted to use the radio
      (2) meetings and parades frequently broken up
      (3) headquarters and publishing houses occupied and searched
      (4) Emergency Decree issued February 6 to permit extensive suspensions of newspapers and periodicals and prohibition of open-air meetings

b. measures to consolidate hold of N.S.D.A.P. on machinery of government

(1) dismissal of officials belonging to opposition parties, and replacement of members of N.S.D.A.P. commenced February 12—at first involved principally police chiefs, provincial governors, and mayors in Prussia (Berlin Chief of Police changed February 17)

(2) Auxiliary Police Decree for Prussia, February 22

c. attack upon existence of opposition commenced

(1) immediate arrest of Communist leaders and some Social Democratic leaders following Reichstag fire, evening of February 27

(2) Decree of February 28 "for the Defense of People and State"

(*a*) permitted suspension of civil liberties guaranteed in the Constitution

(*b*) authorized the national government to assume control of any state in which the authorities did not take the measures necessary to restore public security and order

(3) Decree of February 28 "against Betrayal of the German People and High Treason"

(*a*) increased penalties for treason

(*b*) broadened definition of high treason to include distribution or possession presumably for distribution of printed matter inciting to the use of force against the authority of the state or urging a general strike

3. Election campaign of N.S.D.A.P.

a. successes in small elections (local communities, industrial councils, organizations)

b. lines of attack upon opposition

(1) charging up all of the troubles of Germany to "fourteen years of Marxist rule"—included the Center, as an ally of Social Democrats

(2) constant reports of very bad conditions in U.S.S.R.

(3) charges of extensive corruption in the "November system"

(4) daily reports of measures being taken by the Hitler government for economic reconstruction—in absence of laws actually passed, promises of measures to be taken

c. energetic speaking tours of Hitler and other party leaders, mass meetings and parades, culminating in the "Day of the Awakening Nation," March 4

D. Course of the Revolution, March 5–23

1. Outcome of elections
   a. Reichstag—government parties 52% of mandates (N.S.D.A.P. 48%)
   b. Prussian Landtag—National Socialist victory
   c. communal assemblies—elections characterized by Nazi landslides and Communist recessions
2. Raising of the black-white-red flag of the German Empire, together with the N.S.D.A.P. swastika flag over public and semi-public buildings, carried through with ceremonies by SA and SS
3. Taking over of control in states where N.S.D.A.P. and Nationalists did not already control the governments (frequently followed demonstrations and occupation of government buildings by SA and SS); decree of February 28 "for the Defense of People and State" made legal basis for assumption of control.
   March 6: Hamburg, Hesse, Bremen, Lübeck
   March 8: Baden, Württemberg, Saxony, Schaumberg-Lippe
   March 9: Bavaria
4. Active anti-Jewish movement, beginning in Essen, March 8
   a. main centers of activity, Rhine Province and Breslau
   b. attacks principally upon Jewish businesses and upon Jewish lawyers and physicians
   c. attempts of government to stop the unauthorized closing of Jewish businesses (decree of Frick, March 13)
5. Appointment of Hjalmar Schacht President of Reichsbank, March 16—assertion of National Socialist control over fiscal and foreign debt policies
6. Official action against opposition
   a. laws against Communist and Socialist activities in several states
   b. exclusion of Communist representatives from Reichstag, Landtag, and local assemblies
   c. setting up of special courts to try political cases; increasing severity of punishment for political crimes
   d. continuation of dismissal and suspension of government officials, with replacements by National Socialists

7. Meeting of Reichstag
   a. ceremonial opening, March 21, at Potsdam
   b. passage of Enabling Act, and adjournment, March 23

8. Meeting of Prussian Landtag, March 22—adjourned to May 2 without transacting business

THE ENABLING ACT OF MARCH 23, 1933

The Reichstag agrees to the following law which, with the agreement of the Reichsrat, is hereby proclaimed, for the purpose of fulfilling the legal requirements for amending the national constitution.

1. Laws may be passed by the national government, outside of the procedure provided in the constitution. This measure applies also to the laws designated by Article 85, Section 2, and Article 81 of the constitution [dealing with budget and credits].

2. Laws passed by the national government may diverge from the constitution in so far as they do not affect the existence of the Reichstag and the Reichsrat as such. The rights of the President of the Reich remain unimpaired.

3. Laws passed by the national government shall be drawn up by the Chancellor of the Reich and proclaimed in the national statute gazette. Unless they provide otherwise, these laws come into force on the day following the proclamation. Articles 68 and 77 of the constitution are not applicable to laws passed by the national government.[1]

4. Treaties of the Reich with foreign states which involve subjects of national law-making do not require, for the duration of this law, ratification by the legislative bodies of the Reich. The national government shall decree the regulations necessary for executing these treaties.

5. This law enters into force on the day of its proclamation. It becomes void on April 1, 1937; further, it becomes void if the present Reichstag is superseded by another.

PROGRAM

1. Brief report on current news from Germany

2. Lecture on contemporary situation in Germany or discussion of the question: Why was Hitler able to establish a dictatorship of the National Socialist Party in Germany following his appointment as Chancellor?

READING

HOOVER, chap. V.

[1] Articles 68 to 77 of the German Constitution prescribe the procedure for the making and proclaiming of laws.

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New York Times

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Likeness to Italy Denied, April 2, 1933.

IV

THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE AUTHORITARIAN state, ruled by a hierarchy of officials culminating in a supreme leader chosen by the people, is the Nazi ideal of political organization. Refusing even to pay lip service to democracy, the National Socialists attack representative government as irresponsible and ineffective. Under their "principle of leadership" power is delegated from above and decisions are made on the responsibility of the individual. Sometimes he may consult with chosen advisers, but policies are not decided upon by majority vote. The masses participate in the government, under the operation of this principle, by their choice of the supreme leader and by means of plebiscites to express their approval or disapproval of his most crucial policies.

A second important political tenet of National Socialism is the insistence that the state should be identical with the race. This idea is expressed by Adolf Hitler in his autobiography, as follows:

> The state is a means to an end. Its end is to maintain and promote a community of physically and spiritually similar beings. The maintenance of such a community involves first of all an existence according to racial standards and thereby allows the free development of all the forces slumbering in the race.—(*Mein Kampf*, Vol. II, Chapter 2, "The State.")

A. MEASURES AFFECTING THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF GERMANY

1. Enabling Act of March 23, 1933—practically suspended the Weimar Constitution
2. Law for the *Gleichschaltung*[1] of States and Communities, March 31, 1933
   a. principal provisions
      (1) governments of the federal states authorized to diverge from their constitutions in making laws and reorganizing administrations
      (2) law-making bodies as such to continue in existence
      (3) all Landtags and all communal representative assemblies dissolved (except in Prussia, where new elections had been held on March 12), to be reconstituted according to the results of the national election of March 5; Communists to be excluded entirely in the reapportionment of seats

[1] The nearest English equivalent to this expression is "co-ordination."

b. political constellation of Landtags under law of March 31 published April 4

3. Creation of office of Statthalter, April 7, 1933
   a. principal provisions of the Statthalter Law
      (1) appointment and dismissal by the President of the Reich, on motion of the Chancellor
      (2) function to represent the national government in the federal states
      (3) Chancellor of the Reich designated Statthalter for Prussia
   b. appointment of Statthalters, beginning May 5; sworn in by the President of the Reich, May 26
4. Declaration of the unity of the N.S.D.A.P. with the German state—law of December 1, 1933
   a. the party made an organ of the state
   b. Deputy-Leader of the Party and Chief of Staff of the SA made members of the cabinet
   c. members of the party and the SA placed under heightened obligations to the Leader, the folk, and the state and made subject to special courts
5. Transference of sovereign rights of the states to the Reich, January 30, 1934—principal provisions
   a. abolition of the Landtags
   b. placing of Statthalters under national Ministry of the Interior
   c. states maintained for the present as administrative and territorial units
6. Abolition of the Reichsrat, February 14, 1934
7. Fusion of offices of President and Chancellor by decree of August 2, 1934
   a. joint office filled by Hitler under title of *Der Fuehrer*
   b. act of cabinet confirmed by national plebiscite, August 19, 1934

B. Administrative Changes

1. Reorganization of the civil service
   a. purposes of measures taken
      (1) *Gleichschaltung* on basis of political views and race
      (2) simplification of administration

b. measures

(1) commencement of dismissals and suspensions,[1] middle of February, 1933

(2) decree of Prussian Ministry of Justice, March 31, 1933—suspension of Jewish judges, state attorneys, and court officials; closing of buildings against them

(3) Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933

(*a*) retirement or dismissal of

i. persons of non-Aryan origin—with exception of those holding office before August 2, 1914, those who fought at the front in the armies of Germany or her allies during the World War, or those who lost a father or son in the World War

ii. politically unreliable persons

iii. persons discharging functions abolished in a reorganization

(*b*) affects all officials of Reich, Laender, and local communities, as well as teachers (including universities and technical colleges), employees of public social insurance institutions (principally physicians), and lawyers even if not employed by the government

(4) successive laws for execution of terms of the Law of April 7, principally defining "non-Aryan origin," bases of exceptions, and "politically unreliable"; also regulating more exactly the degree of dismissal, i.e., retirement on pensions, outright dismissal, withdrawal of pension of retired officials in excluded classes

2. Expansion of the cabinet

a. establishment of Ministry for Enlightenment of the People and Propaganda, March 13, 1933

b. establishment of Ministry for Aviation, May 5, 1933

c. appointment of Deputy-Leader of the N.S.D.A.P. and Chief of Staff of the SA to the Cabinet as Ministers without Portfolio, by law of December 1, 1933 "to assure the Unity of Party and State"

d. establishment of Ministry of Education, May 11, 1934

[1] The official term *"beurlauben"* (to grant leave) was used to designate these suspensions, thus imparting a new meaning to a routine bureaucratic word.

C. Abolition of All Political Parties Except N.S.D.A.P.

1. Practical abolition of Communist Party by Emergency Decree of February 28 and subsequent exclusion of Communist representatives from all law-making bodies

2. Dissolution of Social Democratic Party and the State Party (Liberal) by government decree, June 22, 1933

3. Voluntary dissolution of the German Nationalist Party, June 27, 1933

   a. Dissolution by government decree and prohibition of the *Kampfring* (militant organization of the German Nationalist Front), June 21

   b. local dissolutions of the Stahlhelm, followed by incorporation in the National Socialist movement; Stahlhelm youth organizations taken into SA and Hitler Jugend

   c. German Nationalist deputies taken into N.S.D.A.P. as guests

4. Voluntary dissolution of the German People's Party, July 4, 1933—deputies enter N.S.D.A.P. group in Reichstag and Landtag as guests

5. Voluntary dissolution of the Center

   a. Bavarian People's Party (backbone of the national Center Party) attacked June 21—leaders arrested, headquarters searched, etc.

   b. voluntary dissolution of the Bavarian People's Party, July 4

   c. dissolution of Center Party July 5; some of Center deputies to become guests of N.S.D.A.P. and others to function without a party but in contact with N.S.D.A.P.

6. Setting up of political parties declared treason, July 14

7. Election of November 12, 1933—new Reichstag almost entirely National Socialist

Hitler, to the Statthalters in the Reich Chancery, July 6, 1933:

> The political parties have now been finally abolished; this is an historical event of which the importance and far-reaching effect have in many cases not yet been realized at all. We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially the methods of voting and of decisions by the majority, such as still often occur in the communes, in economic organizations and in working committees, and lay stress upon the responsibility in all cases of the individual.
>
> . . . The Party has now become the State. All power is invested in the Reich Government. We must prevent the center of

gravity of German life being once more shifted to different quarters or even organizations. There is no longer any authority emanating from any one part of the Reich, but only that based on the idea of a German nation as a whole.

PROGRAM

1. Brief report on current news from Germany
2. Choose two or three of the following topics for report:
   a. Italian Fascism—its philosophies and organization
   Haider; Mussolini; Pitigliani; Roberts; Schneider
   Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. VII, No. 3; *International Conciliation* No. 223
   b. Italian Fascism compared with German National Socialism
   Armstrong; Haider; Lengyel; Nordicus; Pitigliani
   Fortnightly Review, July 1933; *Quarterly Review,* July 1933
   c. Prussia and the Reich
   Brunet; Graham; Villard
   Current History; Literary Digest; New York Times
   d. German Federalism and the Nazis
   Nordicus
   Current History; Literary Digest; New York Times
   e. The fate of the Reichstag, Landstags, and local assemblies
   Pollock and Heneman
   Current History; Literary Digest; New York Times

READING

Hoover, chap. VI.
Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. X, No. 8, Political Structure of the Third Reich.

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The Nazi Broom Sweeps Clean, July 14, 1933.
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Hitler and the Constitution, June 1933.
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V

THE ECONOMICS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE NAZIS speak frequently of "German socialism." What they mean by the phrase, as nearly as their speeches and writings can be interpreted, is "social mindedness" or "social conscience." The whole question of private *vs.* state ownership of production goods is left untouched; indeed, it is declared to be irrelevant. They denounce the whole concept of the class struggle, and cannot even be said to advocate "class cooperation," for they do not recognize classes in the Marxian sense. "German socialism" is a doctrine compounded of the Italian Fascist notion of the corporative state and a romantic idea of the guild system of the middle ages. The central point of the doctrine is the *Ständestaat.* The term defies accurate translation, but the concept which it expresses is that of a state in which the citizens are divided into broad occupational groupings—agriculture, industrial labor, retail merchants, et cetera—which not only regulate the conditions of their own economic life but which also contribute to the general social good. However, where the *Stände,* or estates of the middle ages, set rigid bounds to intercourse among their members, the National Socialist state encourages intensive mixing of the various groups in the educational system and in civic activities, in order to develop a feeling of mutual respect. The labor service camps, for example, in contrast to the pre-war military training camps, recognize no class differences, and the sons of the nobility and of wealthy industrialists do the same work and eat the same food as the sons of day laborers.

Whether sufficient social-mindedness can be developed to wipe out economic class conflict, without altering the basis of economic life, remains an open question. On the answer to this question depends the ultimate fate of the National Socialist state. In the near future, however, the issue can be prevented from becoming acute, if the economic crisis can be overcome or if the German people can be made to consider it of secondary importance. Thus, Hitler is concentrating every effort upon reducing unemployment, meantime providing relief for those for whom no jobs are available, and his whole propaganda machine is also at work to divert the attention of the German people from their economic problems.

A. Measures to Meet the Immediate Crisis

1. The "Employment Drives" of 1933 and 1934
   a. purpose, to reduce unemployment to a normal figure in three years, meanwhile providing relief by means of popular contributions
   b. measures to reduce unemployment
      (1) extensive public works program
      (2) labor service for young people
      (3) large credits for private undertakings
      (4) encouragement of reduced industrial working hours
      (5) special tax relief for contributions to employment funds
      (6) subsidies for employment of farm labor
      (7) land reclamation and settlement schemes
      (8) elimination of "double earners" from pay rolls
2. The "Fight against Hunger and Cold"—winter relief campaigns
3. Drastic cuts in governmental budgets, 1933, somewhat offset by increase in military budget in 1934
4. Efforts to scale down foreign debt of Germany
5. Stringent laws to prevent flight of capital out of Germany

B. Measures Affecting the General Economic System

1. Tendencies
   a. to eliminate social conflict based upon economic class differences
   b. to strengthen small merchants and independent artisans
   c. to improve the position of the farmer
   d. to make Germany economically self-sufficient
2. Most important measures
   a. *Gleichschaltung* of economic organizations
      (1) owners and employers
         (*a*) appointment of National Commissars for industry and business, May 3, 1933
         (*b*) creation of Reichsstand der Deutschen Industrie, May 4, to replace former organization of owners and employers—Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, chairman

(2) labor

(*a*) trade unions placed under leadership of Hitler, April 29 to May 3, 1933, and put under orders of the N.S.D.A.P. Committee for the Protection of Labor—Robert Ley, chairman

(*b*) organization of German Labor Front, May 4, including both manual and clerical workers

(*c*) propaganda—designation of May 1 as the "Day of National Labor"

(3) small business

(*a*) *Gleichschaltung* of Federation of German Retail Trade and Congress of Chambers of Crafts and Trade, commencing March 28, 1933

(*b*) creation of Reichsstand des deutschen Handwerks, May 3—Adrian von Renteln, chairman

(*c*) dissolution of Kampfbund des gewerblichen Mittelstandes, August 7, 1933; creation of Nationalsozialistische Handwerks- Handels- und Gewerbeorganisation (NS-Hago) to take its place

(*d*) incorporation of small business in the Labor Front, August 7, 1933

(4) agriculture

(*a*) election of Walter Darré, Director of the Agricultural Division of the N.S.D.A.P., as chairman of the major agrarian organizations, April 1933

(*b*) creation of Reichsnährstand, September 13, 1933

i. placed under leadership of Minister of Commerce and Industry

ii. given wide powers to regulate production and prices

b. regulation of relations between industry and labor

(1) repeated decrees against interference by workers in the management of industry and business, spring and summer, 1933 (the N.S.B.O. frequently set up commissars and attempted to reorganize various firms according to their notion of the economic program of the N.S.D.A.P.)

(2) appointment of Labor Trustees, June 15, 1933, to act as arbiters in labor conflicts, with authority to impose decisions

(3) proclamation of Labor Code, January 20, 1934

(*a*) abolition of trade unions and collective bargaining

(*b*) system of shop councils under chairmanship of employers

(*c*) employer designated the "leader" of the undertaking, and given right to draw up his own labor code and establish his own wage scale

(*d*) shop council, by majority vote, permitted to appeal to the Labor Trustee of the district

(*e*) "court of honor" set up in the district of each Labor Trustee to try cases between employers and workers

c. organization of industry

(1) cartel law, July 15, 1933

(*a*) purpose, to increase government control over industrial competition

(*b*) power given to Ministers of Agriculture and of Commerce and Industry to form compulsory cartels, dissolve existing combines, and forbid establishment of new firms or extension of existing ones

(2) law "to prepare the organic structure of German economy," February 27, 1934

(*a*) power given to Minister of Commerce and Industry to regulate business associations

(*b*) every business concern compelled to join a designated association

d. attempts to meet demands of small business

(1) laws to limit competition among retail merchants

(2) regulation of retail price policies

(3) setting up of provisional system whereby the *Stand* of merchants and artisans may regulate its methods of carrying on business, in coöperation with the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Minister of Labor—Law of November 29, 1933

(4) propaganda—Handworkers' Week, October: posters, parades, mass meetings, store decorations, and displays

e. non-fulfillment of demands of *petit bourgeois* element of the N.S.D.A.P.,—e.g.

(1) department stores
   (*a*) order closing repair shops, beauty parlors, et cetera, in department stores, to be accomplished by October 1, 1933—order considerably modified in practice
   (*b*) Prussian law of July 15, 1933, permitting communities to tax department stores—not utilized extensively
   (*c*) proclamations by Party leaders against "unauthorized interference" with department stores
(2) consumers coöperatives taken over by National Socialists but not destroyed
(3) trusts and banks not nationalized

f. measures to strengthen agriculture
(1) promulgation of new Land Inheritance Laws (Prussia, May 12; Reich, September 29, 1933) to prevent further division of small holdings
(2) reduction of interest rate on farm mortgages, amelioration of foreclosure procedures
(3) increased protection of German farm products by tariff manipulations
(4) intensive propaganda to increase consumption of German farm products
(5) celebration of Harvest Thanksgiving Day, occasion for agrarian propaganda

g. present composition of the Labor Front
(1) individual members
(2) corporate members
   (*a*) N.S.B.O.
   (*b*) NS-Hago
   (*c*) Reichsnährstand
   (*d*) National Chamber of Culture (cf. Section VI)
   (*e*) Association of National Socialist German Jurists

C. Taking Over of Important Economic Posts in the Government by National Socialists (following resignation of Hugenberg, June 27, 1933)

Minister of Agriculture—Walter Darré
Minister of Commerce and Industry—Kurt Schmitt (given leave of absence July 30, 1934; Acting Minister, Hjalmar Schacht, President of Reichsbank)
Undersecretary of Commerce and Industry—Gottfried Feder

PROGRAM

1. Brief report of current news from Germany

2. Review of *Hitler Over Europe?* by Ernst Henri, or discussion of the question: Is economic life in Germany under Hitler moving toward a modified socialism or is it tending rather to entrench capitalism? (See especially Hoover, Henri, and Haider for arguments on both sides.)

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Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. X, No. 15; The Economic Structure of the Third Reich.

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World Over: Conditions in Germany Foreshadow Consequences of America's Backing Moratorium, April 1933.

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Hitler Crushes the Labor Unions, May 17, 1933.
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Loyal Comradeship Set as Policy for Business, March 24, 1934.

World Tomorrow

BRAILSFORD, H. N. The Middle Class and Revolution, August 1933.

Yale Review

TROTSKY, L. Hitler's National Socialism, December 1933.

New York Times

Hitler's Industrial Utopia, Section VIII, July 23, 1933.

VI

THE TOTALITARIAN STATE

THE NATIONAL Socialist state recognizes no limits to the demands which it may make of the individual, seeking to condition all of his activities and to bend them toward building a unified society, coextensive with the German nation. Racial attitudes, the family, the position of women, religion, education, recreation, and general culture have all been fundamentally affected by the National Socialist revolution.

A. METHODS AND INSTRUMENTS FOR REACHING THE INDIVIDUAL

1. Highly developed propaganda, under direction of a Ministry for Propaganda and Enlightenment of the People, with Paul Joseph Goebbels, Propaganda Director of the N.S.D.A.P., as Minister

2. Reconstitution of organizations in all fields

3. Direct government action to encourage activities and tendencies calculated to produce the desired society

4. Comprehensive control of the press

B. RACE

Hitler, in *Mein Kampf,* Vol. II, Chapter 1, "Philosophy and Party":

> [Our philosophy] recognizes the significance of the fundamental racial elements of humanity. . . . It does not believe at all in equality of the races, but recognizes, along with their differences, their higher or lower value, and by this recognition feels obliged,—by the eternal desire that dominates this universe to promote the victory of the better and stronger,—to demand the subordination of the worse and the weaker. Thus it holds in principle to the basic autocratic intention of nature and believes in applying this law to the last individual being . . . [Our philosophy] cannot approve of the ethical idea of a right to existence in so far as this idea represents a menace to the racial life of the bearers of a higher ethic. . . .
>
> Human culture and civilization on this continent are inseparably bound up with the existence of the Aryan. If he dies out or goes under, the dark veil of a cultureless era would again fall upon the earth.

Frick, to Population and Ethnological Experts, June 28, 1933:

> It must again be considered the duty of educated youth to be aware of the value of the German heritage, to guard racial purity, and by proper choice of a mate to strive for a higher development of their own kind and their own families. Mixing with alien races must be designated as what it is, namely, the basis of intellectual and spiritual de-characterizing, as well as of alienation from one's own people. The science of family and race must be so cultivated that the blooming of the family will appear a higher good than wealth or comfort.

1. Non-governmental action against the Jews—principally carried on by local and national agencies of the National Socialist Party
   - *a.* sporadic and scattered anti-Jewish demonstrations against Jewish businesses and Jewish professional people, beginning March 8, 1933
   - *b.* Day of National Boycott against the Jews, April 1, 1933, led by Economic Organization of the N.S.D.A.P.

2. Governmental action against the Jews
   - *a.* banning of the work of artists, musicians, writers, actors, journalists
   - *b.* restriction in the practice of professions—law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, teaching
   - *c.* exclusion, with certain exceptions, from the civil service
   - *d.* prohibition of marriage of state officials or members of the Reichswehr with Jews
   - *e.* introduction of the *numerus clausus* into all except the compulsory schools
   - *f.* exclusion from practically all organizations
   - *g.* restriction of Jewish cultural and welfare activities to Jewish organizations, e.g. Kulturbund der deutschen Juden

3. Cultivation of racial consciousness in the population
   - *a.* local discriminations in the use of public recreational facilities
   - *b.* introduction of compulsory courses in "racial science" into the schools and institutions of higher learning

NOTE: For most purposes one "non-Aryan" grandparent establishes the individual as non-Aryan. This definition appeared first in the so-called "Arierparagraph" of the Civil Service Law. Marriage with a non-Aryan usually has the same effect.

C. The Family

1. Tendency of measures—to increase the biological and moral importance of the family, at the same time setting limits to its authority over the individual members in so far as this authority might exert an anti-Nazi influence

2. Campaign to increase the marriage rate and the birth rate

   a. celebration of multiple marriage ceremonies by local National Socialist organizations

   b. encouragement of withdrawal of young women from industrial and clerical positions in order to marry

   c. financial assistance for young couples

   d. arrangements to favor families with a large number of children, e.g., housing projects for large families in Thuringia, reduction of income tax for large families

3. Efforts to improve the health of the race by eliminating inheritance of physical and mental degeneracy—proclamation of Sterilization Law, July 25, 1933; put into effect, January 1, 1934

D. Position of Women

1. Theories

   a. rôle of women in the state:

      (1) Alfred Rosenberg, principal theoretician of National Socialism, in *Der Mythus des XXten Jahrhunderts:*

> Let us keep clearly in mind the fact stated at the beginning, that in the whole of world history the state, social structure, in fact all enduring binding-together that has been done, has been the result of masculine will and masculine creative capacity. Then it becomes plain that a continuing influence of the woman in the state, permitted as a matter of principle, must represent the beginning of its ruin. This does not depend at all upon good will and the desire to "cooperate constructively," nor upon the existence of one or another able, even great feminine personality, but it depends upon the essence of woman, who ultimately approaches all questions lyrically or intellectually and not structurally. That is, the woman observes only the individual, the atomistic, and does not synthesize. Our feministic-democratic "humanity" that pities the individual criminal but forgets the state and the folk—briefly, the type,—is thus good soil for all efforts which deny norms or which acknowledge them only emotionally.

(2) Gottfried Krummacher, Director of the Deutsches Frauenwerk in a statement issued on his appointment:

> The German nation expects from its women that they serve the family first of all and in the family gather together all the constructive forces for folk and state. The tasks bound up with parliamentary life which, under the domination of general, equal, secret, and direct suffrage, made demands on the woman which hardly belong to her according to National Socialist opinion, now disappear. Women will thus be able to concern themselves more with social tasks.

b. education of women and their economic rôle

(1) Paula Siber, Former Expert on Women's Questions in the Ministry of the Interior, in *Die Frauenfrage und Ihre Lösung durch den Nationalsozialismus:*

> To the education of women for social professions as well as for their economic training a much greater importance must be attached. Directly in the field of the social and economic functions of women an immense number of purely feminine occupations open up, which can never come into competition with the men.
>
> Next to that, the study of all subjects stands open to the girl in the institutions of higher learning, since National Socialism wants to see the woman as comrade and the woman as mother and educator developed in every way. Also, every woman has the right to be a physician, teacher, or scholar. She must only demonstrate her ability in these directions.

(2) Otto Schuster, Leader of the Political Section of Berlin Branch of the Deutscher Studentenbund in *Wissen und Dienst,* (an organ of the students at Berlin University), November 1, 1933:

> The institutions of higher learning belong to the men. We know, of course, that we cannot reserve certain professions from the women (children's doctors, dentists, teachers, et cetera). However, study at a university should be for the girl only a preparation for this work of social service. We offer her a place as a guest. Study because it is the thing to do, for the sake of mere culture, must at present cease entirely, in order that the principal aim, the education of the woman to be a mother, may be clearly discernible in the higher institutions.
>
> The activity of women in men's occupations because of the still existing social and economic need (on account of which not all women can become mothers) has a justification in industry and trade, but no longer in intellectual professions.

2. Measures affecting women

a. Gleichschaltung of women's organizations

(1) steps

(*a*) forcible dissolution of organizations of radical or pacifist tendencies

(*b*) voluntary dissolution of organizations preferring not to work under National Socialist direction, e.g., National Council of Women, League of Women Citizens

(*c*) fusion of remaining organizations into two groups, May-September 1933

i. Deutsche Frauenfront, under Lydia Gottschewski, Director of the National Socialist Frauenschaft

ii. Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Frauenverbände, under Paula Siber, Expert on Women's Questions in the Ministry of the Interior (resigned spring of 1934)

(*d*) merging of the two groups in the Deutsches Frauenwerk, September 15, 1933, under Gottfried Krummacher as Director, and Frau Siber as Deputy Director

(*e*) establishment of the Deutscher Frauenarbeitsdienst, January 1934—Frau Gertrud Scholtz-Klink, Director

(*f*) setting up of Federation of Women's Organizations, under leadership of Frau Scholtz-Klink, summer of 1934, comprising

i. Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft

ii. Deutsches Frauenwerk

iii. Frauenamt der deutschen Arbeitsfront

iv. Deutscher Frauenarbeitsdienst

v. Reichsfrauenbund des deutschen Roten Kreuzes

b. withdrawal from economic and professional competition with men

(1) elimination of large numbers of industrial and clerical workers by application of rules against "double earning"

(2) Civil Service Law of July 4, 1933 (rules for new appointments)

(*a*) women to be employed only if over the age of 35

(*b*) national, state and local governments permitted to pay women on a basis different from that for men

(3) restriction of proportion of women students in the universities and technical colleges to 10 per cent (formerly constituted one-fourth to one-third of the students)

E. Youth

1. Educational system

a. Nazi attitude toward education

(1) Minister of the Interior Frick, in an address to the Ministers of Education of the Federal States, May 9, 1933:

> The German school has to cultivate the political person, who in all his thought and action is rooted in his people, to serve them and to sacrifice for them, and who is in his innermost being bound inseparably to the history and fate of his state.

(2) Prussian Minister of Education Rust, to the students of Berlin University, May 6, 1933:

> The higher institutions of learning have, alongside of the task of free scientific research, the function of education. The professors on the whole have overlooked the fact that youth seeks in them not only teachers, but leaders. The period of external conflict is now ended; what is needed now cannot be done by the state—it must happen within. One thing must be noted, however; German youth will not permit itself to be led by professors of an alien race any more than by those who diverge intellectually from the ways of the German nation.

b. reorganization of educational system

(1) extensive changes in administrative and teaching personnel

(2) discontinuance of experimental and secular schools (in which religion was not a compulsory subject)

(3) erection of a national Ministry of Education, May 11, 1934, following abolition of state education ministries —Rust appointed Minister of Education

c. the new curriculum (as envisaged by Frick and Rust and now in process of introduction into the schools)

(1) subjects of greatest importance

(*a*) history

(*b*) racial science

(*c*) eugenics

(*d*) physical training

(2) principles of instruction

(*a*) race and race-differences the paramount moving forces of history, politics, culture, economics, et cetera

(*b*) the Fatherland the starting point of all subjects, e.g., German history not to be arrived at by way of Orient and southern Europe, but taught as development of the folk from the soil and from its racial character

2. Organizations

a. Gleichschaltung

(1) Federation of German Youth Organizations taken over by Baldur von Schirach, Leader of Hitler Youth, April 13, 1933

(2) exclusion of Jewish and Marxist youth organizations from the Federation, thus depriving them of special privileges on railroads, in youth hostels, et cetera.

(3) attempts to bring Evangelical and Catholic youth organizations into National Socialist Youth organizations not completely successful—subject of controversy with the churches

b. activities

(1) general propaganda work

(2) assistance with campaigns of adult Nazi organizations, especially money-raising

(3) supervision of recreation of young people

c. relation to the educational system—in theory supplementary, but in practice the demands of the youth organizations frequently take precedence over the requirements of formal education and family life

F. Religion

1. The official attitude: Hitler to the Reichstag, March 23, 1933:

> The National Government regard the two Christian confessions as the weightiest factors for the maintenance of our nationality. They will respect the agreements concluded between them and the federal states. Their rights are not to be infringed. But the Government hope and expect that the work of national and moral regeneration of our nation which they have made their task will, on the other hand, be treated with the same respect. . . . It will be the Government's care to maintain honest co-operation between Church and State; the struggle against materialistic views and for a real national community is just as much in the interest of the German nation as in that of the welfare of our Christian faith.

2. The National Socialist movement in the church
   a. moderate wing, interested in political and administrative control but leaving doctrine untouched
   b. Deutsche Christen, leading the "pagan" movement
      (1) principal aim, to create a German Christianity, purged of Oriental and Mediterranean influences
      (2) purpose to combine Catholics and Protestants in a national German church

3. The National Socialist revolution and the structure of the church
   a. Catholic Church Concordat, July 20, 1933
      (1) withdrawal of the church from participation in politics
      (2) recognition by German government of freedom of belief in and open exercise of the Catholic religion in Germany
      (3) permission for Catholic organizations for purely religious and charitable purposes to exist
   b. Protestant Church
      (1) constitution of a unified national Evangelical Church accepted July 12, 1933
      (2) National Bishop—Ludwig Mueller (belonging to Deutsche Christen) elected July 23, 1933, consecrated September 23, 1934

(3) exaction of oath of allegiance to Hitler and requirement of obedience to Mueller laid down in laws passed by National Synod, August 9, 1934

(4) secession of Evangelical opposition—establishment of a Free Synod, October 20, 1934

4. Controversial issues between the church and the National Socialist state

   a. attempt of Nazis to extend racial discrimination to church officials

   b. control of young people and their organizations

   c. attack of Deutsche Christen on the Christian doctrine as professed by Catholics and Protestants in Germany

5. Periods of acute conflict

   a. May to July, 1933—principally on questions of administrative control and application of the "Aryan paragraph"

   b. January to April 1934—principally on Deutsche Christen movement and on the control of the youth

   c. August-November, 1934—principally over extent of support given by Hitler and the government to Mueller and the Deutsche Christen

G. General Culture

From the Preamble to the Law for a National Chamber of Culture, September 22, 1933:

> It is not the intention of the National Socialist state to create a culture from the top down. A culture grows out of the folk. All previous theories of the state since the Age of Enlightenment have placed culture in a certain contradiction to the state, as the affair of the individual. . . . For the National Socialist state, on the other hand, culture is an affair of the nation. It is the task of the state to strive against harmful forces in cultural life and to promote valuable ones, for this purpose applying the standards of a sense of responsibility for the national community. In this sense, culture remains personal and free.

1. Extensive use of art (painting, drama, literature) as a channel for propaganda

2. Introduction of standards based upon racial origin and political attitude for judgment of works of art and science, e.g., burning of books of Jewish and Marxist authors by university students; removal of paintings of Jewish and Marxist artists from exhibits

3. Emphasis upon concepts of nationalism and individual patriotic heroism in art, e.g., Hanns Johst's drama, *Schlageter;* exhibits of paintings glorifying the soldier

4. Establishment of the National Chamber of Culture, September 22, 1933
   a. sections for writers, press, radio, theater, music, graphic arts, and the film
   b. given status of a *Stand*—within certain limits, permitted to draw regulations for the cultural professions
   c. placed under direction of the Minister of Propaganda

H. Sports and Recreation

1. *Gleichschaltung* of sports organizations, from football leagues to ping-pong and chess clubs, March to May, 1933
2. Emphasis upon military sports
3. Creation of "Strength Through Joy" organization to supervise the recreation of the workers

PROGRAM

1. Brief report on current news from Germany
2. Choose two or three of the following topics for report:

a. Propaganda technique of the N.S.D.A.P.
Hitler; Nordicus; Villard
Current History, June 1933; *Headway,* August 1933; *Round Table,* June, 1933; *New York Times,* April 22, 1934

b. The *Gleichschaltung* of German culture
Nordicus; Villard
Literary Digest, May 20 and 27, 1933; *Living Age,* October, 1932; *New Republic,* April 19 and 26, 1933

c. The racial doctrines of the National Socialists
Hitler; Lengyel; Nordicus
Current History, May and June, 1933; *Foreign Policy Reports,* Vol. IX, No. 16; *Forum,* July, 1933

d. Women in the National Socialist State
Villard
Journal of the American Association of University Women, Brunauer, Ripley; *Survey Graphic,* Hamilton; *New York Times,* September 10, 1933

e. Church and state under Hitler
MacFarland
Catholic World, A. Brandt; *Christian Century; Commonweal; New York Times*

f. National Socialist education
Forum, Langdon-Davies; School and Society; Science, November 17, 1933

g. Review of *The Oppermanns* by Lion Feuchtwanger

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New Republic
Germany, the Twilight of Reason, June 14, 1933.
Getting the Jews out of Germany, July 19, 1933.
Educating for War, November 8, 1933.
News Week
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ROBERTS, K. Hitler Youth, June 2, 1934.
Saturday Review of Literature
STAPLETON, J. Letter from Germany, November 4, 1933.
World Tomorrow
Hitler and the Middle Classes, February 15, 1933.
New York Times
Nazi Strength Analyzed, Section VIII, April 9, 1933.
An Inquiry into the Nazi Mind, Magazine Section, August 6, 1933.

VII

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT

SINCE THE triumph of Hitler the position of Germany in foreign affairs has steadily become worse. A number of factors have combined to cause this shift in international opinion which, by the close of 1932, had become markedly sympathetic to Germany. Fear of the international effects of the success of National Socialism turned the tide, together with some disapproval of the internal policies of Hitler. The fear of Hitler abroad is based not only upon the fact that National Socialism frankly considers war a useful method of accomplishing national aims, but also upon the threat of his doctrines to the European *status quo.* First of all, National Socialism challenges the "Versailles system" and the perpetuation of the concept of victor and vanquished, especially as evidenced in the policy of the former Allies on the issues of reparations and armaments. The reparations question as such was practically buried as a result of the Lausanne Conference, but the emotions engendered in Germany by it live on in resentment against "interest servitude" to international capital which, it is claimed, came about because of the need of financing reparations payments. The failure of the Disarmament Conference to give Germany equal status in regard to armaments has also provided Nazi orators and writers with much material with which to keep the German people in a constant state of resentment against the outside world. Certain territorial arrangements of the Versailles Treaty—notably the Polish Corridor and the Saar—have been subject to constant attack by National Socialists.

Nazi racial doctrines, also, threaten the *status quo,* furnishing a political dynamite that might blow up the whole state system of central and northern Europe. Moreover, the triumph of the fascist movement in Germany has given an impetus to fascist movements everywhere, so that existing régimes must reckon with potential revolutions in their own countries. Thus it is not at all surprising that the Hitler régime is unpopular in international circles. This unpopularity is reinforced by disapproval of many of the internal policies of National Socialism, especially its anti-Semitism.

In the face of this unpopularity, the National Socialist government has adopted the only policy possible to a country too weak to push its demands by force, and that is to gain time by conciliating the enemy. Even the most peaceful official pronouncements do not indicate that Hitler has given up the idea of trying to improve the position of Ger-

many by war if a favorable opportunity should present itself, and the entire educational system within the country fosters a war spirit. Hitler's present foreign policy is clearly to work for a system of allies to support Germany at a crucial moment, and to build up the strength of his country economically, psychologically, and in respect to military equipment.

A. National Socialist Aims Regarding the Foreign Policy of Germany, before Assumption of Power

1. Restoration of equality for Germany and wiping out the injustices of the Versailles Treaty

2. Inclusion of all people of the German race within the Reich

3. Expansion of Germany to the east, in order to acquire land for Germany's surplus population

4. Winning of strong allies for Germany—Great Britain and Italy considered desirable among the great powers; France considered the eternal enemy

B. Declaration of Principles of Foreign Policy by the National Socialist Government. (Submitted to the German people by the plebiscite of November 12, 1933 and accepted by overwhelming vote):

The German government and the German people are united in the will to pursue a policy of peace, reconciliation and understanding as the foundation for all decisions and all negotiations.

The German government and the German people therefore regard force as an unsuitable means of settling existing differences within the European community of states.

The German government and the German people renew the assurances of their readiness to destroy the last German machine gun and to discharge the last man from the army as long as the other peoples decide to do the same.

The German government and the German people pledge themselves to seek the examination and solution of all pending questions by calm negotiations. They do this in the sincere hope of finally re-establishing a genuine friendly relationship with the other nations, including all former opponents, and in order to do away with the war psychosis.

The German government and the German people therefore declare themselves ready at any time by the conclusion of a continental non-aggression pact, to insure the peace of Europe for the longest possible time and thus to contribute to economic welfare and to general cultural reconstruction.

The German government and the German people in their common conception of honor are convinced that the conceding of German equality comprises an indispensable moral and actual condition *sine qua non* for any participation of our people and our government in international organizations or treaties.

The German government and the German people are therefore at one in the decision to withdraw from the Disarmament Conference and the League until this real equality is no longer withheld from our people.

The German government and the German people are determined rather to undergo any misery, any persecution and any hardship than to sign a future treaty which would be unacceptable to any honorable person and to any honor-loving people, and whose terms would only add to the perpetuation of the need and suffering brought about by the Versailles system and thus lead to the collapse of the civilized community of states.

The German government and the German people have no desire to participate in any armament race with other nations; they merely demand that share of security which will guarantee quiet and the freedom of peaceful work to the nation. The German government and the German people are determined to secure these just demands of the German nation by negotiation and through treaties.

C. National Socialist Foreign Policy in Practice

1. Issues rising out of the Treaty of Versailles

a. territorial

(1) the Eastern boundary

(*a*) triumph of National Socialists in Danzig election, May 28, 1933, and establishment of Nazi government—followed by *rapprochement* between Danzig and Poland

(*b*) adjournment of the Polish Corridor question by ten-year non-aggression pact between Germany and Poland, signed January 26, 1934

(2) the Saar—concentration of propaganda efforts upon the January 1935 plebiscite

b. armaments

(1) withdrawal of Germany from the Disarmament Conference, October 14, 1933

(*a*) crisis in negotiations on counting of trained reserves, threat of withdrawal in address of Hitler to the Reichstag, May 17, 1933

(*b*) crisis in negotiations on conditions of probationary period; notice of withdrawal of the German delegation, October 14, 1933

(*c*) confirmation of action of the German government by plebiscite of November 12, 1933

(2) commencement of rearmament of Germany contrary to terms of Treaty of Versailles—special emphasis upon equipment for aerial warfare

c. continuation of campaign to recover colonies

2. Rôle of Germany among the great powers

a. official international organizations

(1) withdrawal from the International Labor Organization, June 20, 1933

(2) notice of intention to terminate membership in the League of Nations, October 14, 1933

b. the Four-Power Pact, signed June 7, 1933, to run for ten years

(1) effort to unite the European great powers in upholding the established peace machinery and hastening the reduction of armaments

(2) suspicion of the small powers, especially Poland and the Little Entente, concerning the motives behind the Pact

(3) attempt of France and England to use the Pact as a basis of intervention in the crisis between Germany and Austria, August 3, 1933—*démarche* rejected by German government

(4) disappearance of the Four-Power Pact for all practical purposes from the European scene

c. negotiations for an "Eastern Locarno"

(1) proposal to join the Soviet Union, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States in a pledge to guarantee the frontiers in northeastern Europe against change by force, with France signing as neutral guarantor

(2) refusal of Germany to join in the pact, considering it a disguised plan for encirclement by France, the Soviet Union, and their allies

(3) support of German attitude by Poland

3. The export of National Socialism

a. impetus to fascist movements in other countries by triumph of Hitler in Germany—e.g., Great Britain, Ireland, France, Hungary, the United States

b. promotion of National Socialist movements in other countries as part of aim to bring all Germans into the Reich, e.g., the Danubian states, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states

c. patronage of a National Socialist organization among the Russian emigrés in Germany

4. Austria, a complex of issues

a. issues involved in German-Austrian relations

(1) the *Anschluss* controversy, inherited from the Versailles negotiations

(2) European power-politics

(*a*) rivalry of Mussolini and Hitler for leadership in central Europe

(*b*) nervousness of Succession States to the Dual Monarchy—on the one hand, fear of German expansion into central Europe (especially Czechoslovakia); on the other, suspicion of any action by the great powers outside the League of Nations

(3) spread of National Socialism

b. stages in development of German-Austrian relations since January 1933

(1) crisis of May 1933

(*a*) rapid growth of National Socialist movement in Austria following Hitler's triumph in Germany

(*b*) expulsion by Austria of Theodor Habicht, press attaché of German embassy and Inspector of the Austrian National Socialist Party; expulsion by Germany of Austrian press attaché in Berlin, in retaliation

(*c*) prohibition, May 27, against visit of German citizens to Austria; retaliation by Austrian government, forbidding Austrian citizens to visit Germany

(2) intensified Nazi propaganda, directed from Germany

(*a*) organization of Austrian Legion among Nazi refugees from Austria

(*b*) radio broadcasts from southern German stations

(3) unsuccessful attempt of France and England to intervene on the basis of the Four-Power Pact, August 3, 1933

(4) attack of Austrian government upon Social Democrats, February 12, 1934—suspicion of Starhemberg agreement with German Nazis

(5) conference between Mussolini and Hitler in Venice, June 14-15, 1934; apparent agreement of Hitler to stop encouragement of Austrian National Socialist movement from Germany

(6) abortive Nazi *putsch* in Austria, July 25, 1934; assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss

(*a*) massing of Italian troops on Austrian border

(*b*) declaration by France and Great Britain of determination to preserve Austrian independence

(*c*) attempt of Hitler to dissociate Germany from the effort of Austrian Nazis to seize the government

i. recall of German ambassador in Vienna for aid to National Socialists; appointment of von Papen as successor

ii. disbanding of Austrian Legion; cessation of propaganda broadcasts; dismissal of Habicht

5. Economic foreign relations of Germany

a. reduction of German foreign trade

(1) causes

(*a*) general economic conditions

(*b*) cutting down of imports in order to foster German agriculture

(*c*) international boycott against German goods as protest against Nazi policy against Jews, political opponents, and organized labor

(2) chief result, increasing difficulty in obtaining foreign exchange with which to meet international financial obligations

b. attempt to scale down the foreign indebtedness of Germany

(1) effort to connect private obligations with the reparations system

(2) offer of financial concessions in exchange for trade advantages

(3) dissension among creditors—American charge of discrimination

PROGRAM

1. Brief report on current news from Germany

2. Choose two or three of the following topics for report:

   a. Review of: *Nazi Means War,* by Leland Stowe
   Hitler Over Europe? by Ernst Henri (if not already treated under section V)
   Germany Prepares for War by Ewald Banse

   b. Germany and the Disarmament Conference
   Current History; Foreign Affairs; Forum, Brandt; *Foreign Policy Reports,* Vol. IX, No. 17; *Geneva Special Studies,* Vol. IV, No. 1; *Völkerbund; New York Times*

   c. Policy of Mussolini toward the National Socialist government
   Current History; Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. X, No. 5; *New York Times*

   d. The rôle of Austria in Hitler's foreign policy
   Simonds
   Current History; New York Times

   e. The "encirclement" of Germany
   Current History; Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. X, No. 5; *New York Times*

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Hitler Foreign Policy Speech, May 18, 1933.
Hitler Course Causes New European Line-Up, Section VIII, July 9, 1933.

The following, supplied by the Provincial Government of Lower Silesia, may be obtained from the National Headquarters of the American Association of University Women on request, by payment of postage (the entire set, 5 to 15 cents depending upon postal zone; separate pieces, 3 cents each):

The Silesian Monthly
The Eastern Region of Lower Silesia (reprint), May 1932.
Deutsche Grenzlande
ROGMANN, H. Wilson und die deutsch-polnische Frage, No. 12, 1932 (reprint).
HESSE, ALBERT. *Economic Consequences of the Versailles Treaty for Eastern Germany* (pamphlet).
A set of small poster maps (3½" square to 8" x 12") presenting the German side of the Polish Corridor question and the armaments question.

VIII

CONCLUSION

No one can predict with certainty how long the National Socialist state will last in Germany, although Hitler expects it to live a thousand years and some of the foreign newspaper correspondents prophesy its downfall every week. It has been characteristic of the course of Nazi rule that periods of calm are followed by sudden, dramatic events. Almost everybody is startled by these explosions when they occur, yet they seem entirely logical and inevitable when one looks back over the train of minor events that led up to them. Thus it is of some value to appraise the factors that influence the life of the National Socialist régime. A knowledge of these factors provides a background against which the day-to-day happenings become significant, and may prevent the forming of hasty judgments when the news of a crisis is flashed to the press of the world.

The most important fact to be grasped in order to gain an understanding of current events in Germany is that the National Socialist Party has become the German state. The Nazis appropriated the Communist idea of building "cells" and boring from within as a means of making a revolution and were very much more successful in applying the technique than the Communists have ever been. Consequently, when they took over the political reins they had the skeleton of a complete state and by expanding it were able to establish their control over every institution in Germany, from the political apparatus to chess clubs and singing societies. These *gleichgeschaltet* institutions not only serve to keep a close watch on the activities of members who may not be in sympathy with Hitler, but also provide useful channels of propaganda for the new "way of life" which is National Socialism.

Behind the National Socialist Party are the bayonets—the police, augmented and reinforced by the SS and the SA. In the long run, the success of a new régime depends upon the degree to which it is able to win public opinion to its support and gradually dismantle the machinery of terrorism, but one cannot deny the importance of force in establishing the régime and maintaining it through its early years. In Germany, organized opposition to National Socialism has been wiped out, with two exceptions. One exception is the church, and the other is the underground political opposition. Neither is likely in the near future to overthrow Hitler, although both of them may cause disturb-

ances and set limits to the extent of his rule over the opinions of the German people.

The Hitler government is in a dilemma in regard to the church, and its policy toward the church suffers from inner inconsistency. On the one hand, it is officially announced that Catholics and Protestants are free to exercise their beliefs as long as they do not bring the church apparatus into politics; on the other hand, when their beliefs include the doctrine of racial equality (or any other doctrine diverging from the dogma of National Socialism) they are forced to behave contrary to their convictions. The fundamental cause of the conflict between church and state in Germany today is that National Socialism is really a rival religion. It is a religion, not in the sense that the worship of Wotan and Valhalla is advocated, but in the sense that the German race has become the object of intense devotion. Religion in its purest form is emotional and irrational, and arises from faith rather than from objective knowledge. National Socialism demands the full emotional support of the individual and expects him to accept its doctrines on faith. That is why many earnest Nazis find modern Christianity entirely distasteful and are filled with the desire to take over the church institutions and remodel them on National Socialist lines. That is also why many sincere Catholics and Protestants find the racial cult of National Socialism alarming, and why they have been able to summon up the courage to resist the Nazis as no one else in Germany has done. Their resistance, alone, however, will not bring the downfall of the Hitler régime, because although National Socialism is a rival religion to Christianity, Christianity is not a rival state organization. The rivalry will even vanish if the Nazis are able to form the beliefs of the young people, and that is why the controversy between church and state in Germany has centered on control of the youth organizations.

The extent of the underground political opposition to the Hitler régime cannot be estimated with any accuracy. The number of people actually engaging in revolutionary activities—attending secret meetings, circulating illegal literature, et cetera—is probably rather small. On the other hand, there is undoubtedly a large reservoir of people who have never become reconciled to the National Socialist state, now augmented by a number of dissatisfied Nazis. The active underground opposition, outside of the National Socialist Party, may be divided into three main groups—the orthodox Social Democrats, the orthodox Communists, and a united front movement made up of both Socialists and Communists. Neither the Social Democratic Party nor the Communist Party was prepared psychologically or mechanically to operate illegally at the time of the seizure of power by the National Socialists. Their first activities were to circulate copies of prohibited newspapers and proclaim the imminent collapse of the Hitler government. Apparently, their organization and techniques are now considerably more effective, and they

seem to have settled down to a long-time program of undermining the Nazis. There are several reasons, however, why they are not likely to dislodge Hitler, the most important being that an underground movement can not seize the initiative in such a way as to overthrow an existing government. If the government is overthrown by some other force, or collapses of itself, then the leaders of a secret opposition can take hold of the situation and, if they are strong enough, establish their own government. A long-drawn-out war or a lost war would probably create the kind of crisis in which a turnover of this sort could occur. Hitler's enthusiasm for peace since January 1933 indicates a recognition of this fact.

The most important menace to Hitler's rule lies within the mass movement that he, himself, built up out of heterogeneous elements. The events of June 30, 1934, revealed dramatically the existence of these elements, although it is a mistake to interpret the "Roehm mutiny" and Hitler's reaction to it as revolving about the social and economic policies of the National Socialist Party. Roehm, Heines, and the other Nazis who lost their lives represented rather the lawless adventurer element in the Party—the men who had never been able to settle down to civilian life after the war and had found their place in the gangster warfare that preceded the revolution of 1933. By the spring of 1934 their service to the National Socialist cause was over, and it was time to assert the control of the civilian element of the Party. The relation of the Storm Troops to the Reichswehr was the immediate issue, but the conflict might just as well have come to a head over some other question. The social and economic tensions within the ranks of the Nazis were untouched—except in so far as potential insurgents may have received a warning of their fate in case of open rebellion. The next conflict is more likely to involve social and economic issues, especially if the standard of living in Germany is pushed down and held down by the policies of Hitler.

So far, the history of the National Socialist régime has gone on in a regular rhythm. One cannot deduce any historical law from it, but it will be interesting to watch the future course of Hitler's government and to note whether the rhythm persists. The first movement is an upward swing of Hitler's power which goes on, seemingly unopposed, until it meets resistance from the church. This resistance is followed by outbreaks within the National Socialist Party which are put down with more or less violence. The conflict with the church subsides, and Hitler ascends to new triumphs. This cycle was observable in 1933 as well as in 1934, although on a much milder scale. Will it persist, ever becoming more violent, or will it gradually die down? If it does persist, at what point will the break finally come? The indications at present are that it will stop some time with a successful rebellion in Hitler's own following.

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sulted in the local library. The following periodicals will be found especially useful in their respective fields:

General	*New York Times* (Consult the Index, under Germany)
	Current History
	The Literary Digest
Education	*School and Society*
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The Church	*Christian Century* (Protestant)
	The Commonweal (Catholic)
Disarmament (the German view)	*Völkerbund. The Disarmament Conference Journal* of the German Association for League of Nations Questions (may be obtained from Wilhelm Schaer, 33 rue du Rhône, Geneva, Switzerland)

The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature should be consulted for other articles on the various topics for report, especially for articles appearing after the publication of this study course.

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As Research Associate in International Education and Secretary to the Committee on International Relations, Esther Caukin Brunauer has directed the international study program of the American Association of University Women since 1927. She is a graduate of Mills College with a Ph.D. in history and political science from Stanford University. Her graduate work included a special study of the diplomatic and internal transformations of Germany during and following the World War. This research, carried on in the Hoover War Library at Stanford, was assisted by the award of the Margaret Maltby Fellowship of the A.A.U.W. in 1926.

Mrs. Brunauer has travelled extensively in Europe, and in 1933 spent ten months in Germany as a Fellow of the Oberlaender Trust of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. During this period she studied the Nazi revolution at first hand, enjoying unusual opportunities not only to consult important source materials, but also to talk with people of all points of view, including the Chancellor, Adolf Hitler. While in Germany, Mrs. Brunauer prepared the study course on the National Socialist State of which the present syllabus is a revised edition.